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OXFORD MARCH Twice as big as last year

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

OVER 700 marchers demanding nuclear disarmament arrived in Oxford on Sunday night. They had spent the day foot-slogging the 18 miles from the H-bomber patrol base at Brize Norton.

The vast majority of the marchers were students. Many had come from Universities in the South and Midlands, including 120 from Cambridge, but most were probably from Oxford itself.

Shortly before the march the University Proctors had withdrawn their ban on it, with the provision that Oxford undergraduates march as individuals and not as University societies.

The march was officially organised by the Oxford area committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and had the support of 12 Oxford City Councillors, leading members of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties in the city, two local medical officers of health and a number of local clergymen.

Campaigners converged from far and wide on the city on Saturday evening. Oxford Quakers had made the Friends' Meeting House available for sleeping quarters; other marchers were housed out locally.

Meanwhile a 24-hour picket had started at the entrance to the bomber station. Brize Norton is a USAF/RAF air base from which round-the-clock patrols with hydrogen weapons are flown.

The pickets carried a wide banner: "Yes to US Friendship. No to US H-bombs!"

Intermittent rain fell during the night, but the number on the picket line never fell below seven.

LIKE CONCENTRATION CAMP

Coaches brought most of the marchers to Brize Norton the next morning. After a brief service, which included a Methodist Peace Fellowship prayer and advice for blistered feet, about 400 left the air base gates. Guards with rifles on their shoulders patrolled inside the tall wire fencing. Occasional sentry boxes on stilts made the terrible place resemble a more conventional concentration camp.

If the march was tiring, the comradeship was magnificent. There was always someone on hand giving away free food, and a 14-piece brass band never allowed spirits to drop.

During the lunch stop telegrams were sent to the Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Labour Party's post-mortem conference meeting over the week-end at Blackpool.

These messages demanded an end to round-the-clock H-bomb flights and rejected the whole nuclear strategy upon which British military policy is based.

An encouraging feature of the demonstration was an address at the final rally by the editor of the largest nationalist newspaper in Tanganyika. He spoke of the menace of French nuclear weapons and his enthusiasm for the protest at Brize Norton.

The march was more than twice as large as one over the same route last year.

'1984' at the bomber base



War is peace—according to the Strategic Air Command's notice at the entrance to Brize Norton H-bomber patrol base near Oxford. Photo: Peter Theobald.

Labour's Left outmanoeuvred

FROM LAURENS OTTER

THE PRESS AND PROBABLY THE PUBLIC APPEAR TO THINK THAT THE DIVISION AT BLACKPOOL WAS BETWEEN INVERTED BLIMPS CHANTING "NATIONALISE THE LOT," AND FORWARD-LOOKING NEW THINKERS PUTTING RADICAL POLICIES FOR OUR DAY.

One might be surprised, therefore, to find at the Labour Party Conference last week-end that those of the Party who belong to the Campaign for Nuclear

Disarmament, or are active in War on Want or the Movement for Colonial Freedom, all lined up with the Fundamentalists; while those who wish to retain the Bomb, who proposed Central African Federation, pillaged Ismailia and imprisoned Nkrumah (and who proposed in "Industry and Society" that Labour should gamble—gambol?—on the Stock Exchange) are the New Thinkers.

Bomb—left out

If there is this mistaken identity after the Conference, the Left has largely itself to blame.

It allowed itself to be completely outmanoeuvred so that it fought on the wrong issues; its members left the Bomb largely to the last half-minutes of their speeches.

True, Konni Zilliacus gave it more, and Lena Jeger commented on the Party's new policy for attracting youth:

"The young don't want coffee bars and things done for them; they want demands made on them. The CND doesn't give them coffee bars and a good time—it sends them for long walks in the rain."

But Frank Cousins said he did not wish to waste time talking on nuclear policy—and didn't.

By and large the Left did not criticise the Party policy or record on the Colonies—and only one suggested that one per cent of the national income was not enough to give the under-developed countries since it was much less than we took out of them.

War on want

It was indeed left to Ivor Richard to suggest that the fundamental issue for socialists today is War on Want—and then he left this meaningless by not attacking war preparations.

As a result it was the Right that appeared to care about people, the Left about

ideas, so that Dennis Healey and Shirley Williams by an amazing piece of double-think were able to accuse those who would rather be Socialists in Opposition than pseudo-Conservatives in power of betraying the people of Central Africa into five years more slavery and of saying "I am Socialist; I am all Right."

One of the features of the Conference was the number of people who came to the rostrum and told us (with perfectly straight faces, too) that they had never fought an Election with such good policies under such good leadership (they never had it so good!). Lord Packenham went further to tell us: You'll never find a man with more integrity than him (Gaitskell) in public life (which was as good an anarchist argument as I have heard in a long time).

Bevan on ownership

It was this failure to raise the real issues that allowed Bevan to play the Trojan Horse. By implying that he stood by the retention of the principle of Common Ownership—without saying anything to which tomorrow he can be pinned down—he allayed the fears of the Left, displacing as the leader of the Inner Party Opposition Michael Foot (for whom earlier the cheering had been the highlight of the Conference, not for what he said—it was before he spoke and he didn't in fact say anything of note—but for what he stands.)

Compromise to continue

This will mean that there will now be no concerted attempt by the Left to think out a coherent Socialist Policy as an alternative to the existing compromise. At the next Conference once again the division will appear to be between the Radical New Thinkers and the Troglodytes.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights Day on December 9 will mark the eleventh anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

South African goods: three-phase boycott

THERE will be an intensive boycott in Britain of South African goods for one month at the beginning of next year.

This was announced by Mr. Patrick van Rensburg at a press conference in London called by the Boycott Movement last week. Mr. van Rensburg, a member of the South African Liberal Party, was in his country's diplomatic service but resigned as a protest against apartheid.

The boycott campaign will be in three phases: the first is to get sponsors, the second will be a conference for organisations of all shades of opinion, and the third will be the month's boycott itself.

Among those who have agreed to sponsor the boycott are Brendan Behan, John Berger, Fenner Brockway, MP, James Cameron, Johnny Dankworth, Father Trevor Huddleston, Rev. Michael Scott, Jeremy Thorpe, MP, and Vicky.

The boycott has the support of trade union branches, trades councils, Labour Party branches and co-operative societies. The Movement also hopes that dock workers will "black" South African goods, at least during the month of intensive campaigning.

In Newcastle

Last Saturday about 130 people, mostly youths and students, marched through the streets of Newcastle-on-Tyne calling for a boycott, reports Denzil Webb.

About 4,000 leaflets were given out, and marchers carried posters calling for an end to slavery.

The march was sponsored by the Tyneside Africa Council.

GENERAL MARSHALL: AN OBITUARIAL NOTE—II

Genius and genocide

This is the conclusion of Professor Barnes two articles on General Marshall. Last week, Professor Barnes pointed to the part that General Marshall played in Pearl Harbor, the Yalta Conference, and the dropping of the A-bombs on Japan. This week he discusses General Marshall's part in these events in more detail.

IN my articles on Pearl Harbor in Peace News (April 24 and May 1) I made it clear that one of the most detestable items in this overall scandal was the attempt to cover up the evidence as to the actual responsibility for the surprise attack and its devastating results, and to make scapegoats of General Walter C. Short and Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the Pearl Harbor commanders who were actually free from the slightest iota of responsibility for the calamity.

Among the military leaders in the second World War who took part in this contemptible enterprise, no other persons figured as prominently or effectively as General Marshall. Mr. Percy Greaves tells this story in an authoritative manner, fully documented, in Chapter seven of "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace," and his account is forcibly supplemented in the preceding chapter by George Morgenstern.

SPEECH WITHHELD

Marshall worked effectively to suppress damaging information in the course of the several investigations of the responsibility for Pearl Harbor. He directed that vital documents be tampered with and others removed from the files or destroyed. It has been authoritatively charged that among these was the famous "Winds Message" of December 4, 1941, which revealed the fact that the Japanese had definitely decided upon war and that it would be declared against the United States and Great Britain. Greaves charges, with plenty of convincing evidence, that General Marshall "in effect ordered his subordinates to commit perjury in their sworn testimony." (p. 437.)

The most effective bit of work which was accomplished by General Marshall in preventing the American (and British) public from learning the truth about the responsibility for Pearl Harbor took place during the Presidential campaign of 1944. The various investigations of the Pearl Harbor disaster down to the autumn of 1944 had already effectively shown the large degree of responsibility of the Roosevelt Administration, and advisers to Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, such as John T. Flynn, had extracted much of this startling information.

Mr. Dewey had planned to climax his campaign by a sensational, but restrained, speech on this subject. Roosevelt agents operating in the Dewey councils revealed this intention. Thereupon, President Roose-

velt sent General Marshall to urge Mr. Dewey to suppress this speech, which well might have elected him, in the interest of "national security," mainly the contention that Dewey would have to reveal the fact that the United States had broken the Japanese code (the "Magic" performance).

This had taken place away back in August, 1940, and there was evidence that Japanese Intelligence had become well aware of the achievement long before October, 1944. Even if they were not, Japanese power had been crushed by this time, and the information, if news, would have been of little practical military importance.

Mr. Dewey wilted before Marshall's peremptory "persuasion," and the speech was withheld. As a result, the only opportunity for the entire literate American public ever to learn the facts about Pearl Harbor was frustrated. At least 95 per cent of American citizens still believe that the Roosevelt Administration was devoid of any responsibility for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and that the latter was a dastardly "sneak" and "surprise" attack. Probably even fewer of the British public are aware of the facts.

How confident public figures remain of this ignorance was revealed when it was reported that President Eisenhower told his Press Conference in August, 1958, that Pearl Harbor was the last place where American military and political leaders expected the Japanese to strike in December, 1941. So far as I know, nobody has brought this up in connection with the TV quiz scandals, although it was reported that President Eisenhower was much shocked by the latter. He referred to them as "a terrible thing to do to the American public." Granted, but what about Pearl Harbor and withholding the facts concerning it from "the American public"?

YALTA CHARGES

In dealing with the charges made against him relative to the Yalta Conference, General Marshall wobbles and evades as much as he does relative to Pearl Harbor.

General Marshall holds that, at Yalta, it was not yet known just how the atom bombs would react in military operations, which is perfectly true. He contends, therefore, that Russian entry into the Far Eastern war was indispensable to victory. Yet he also admits that Japanese military power had been crushed even before the Yalta Conference opened, and that the atom bombing only hastened the time of surrender "by months." The official American Strategic Bombing Survey doubts that the atom bombings produced



Yalta Conference: Marshall claimed his role was purely military—but military decisions played the greatest part.

Japanese surrender, but it could be conceded without lessening the indictment of Marshall. It would surely have been better to have waited a few months to have brought about the Japanese surrender through blockade and strategic bombing than to have reverted to the most barbarous form of wartime slaughter in the historic record of mankind.

General Marshall claims that, although he was at Yalta, his role was purely military and that he took no part in the ominous political decisions made there. Yet, it is true that his military opinions probably played a greater role in these decisions than the attitudes and actions of any other participants save for Stalin, Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins. We have already pointed out that Marshall was the only top American military official who advocated bringing Russia into the war.

Taking up more specifically the use of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Marshall argues for the necessity of using them to save a vast number of Allied and Japanese lives. He contends that the 2,500,000 Japanese troops on the mainland would have fought like demons to the bitter end rather than surrender. Yet he had just previously conceded that the Japanese could have been starved out in a few months by a rigorous blockade that would have involved very few casualties, save Japanese citizens dying of starvation or disease.

Indeed, the only obstacle to Japanese surrender during the first six months of 1945 was the Allied insistence on the idiocy of "unconditional surrender," and their unwillingness to tell the Japanese that their Emperor and ceremonial imperial political institutions would be spared. This had to be done even after the atom bombings.

Marshall makes no mention of the persistent Japanese peace offers that had started to come in even before he and Roosevelt had left Washington for Yalta and that they had the support of the Emperor. Those submitted in January were identical with those that were accepted in August. They undermine completely the assumption that the 2,500,000 Japanese troops would have fought with frenzy and refused to surrender on any terms. There is no probability whatever that any substantial group of Japanese soldiers would have disobeyed the Emperor's orders to lay down their arms.

SUICIDE PILOTS

The same reasoning applied to the Kamikazes or suicide pilots of the Japanese warplanes. It has been alleged that they would never have surrendered and would have inflicted untold damage on American ships, shipping and men. The fact is that they had been pretty well obliterated before August, 1945, and those very few who remained would surely have surrendered as quickly as the land soldiers on the order of the Emperor. The net conclusion is that General Marshall can make no more valid

defence of the need for the barbarous atom bombings than any of his predecessors, including President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, have done.

Yet one is in danger of exaggerating the unique barbarities of the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities. More persons were killed in the Anglo-American bombing of Dresden than in the bombing of the Japanese cities, and with perhaps even less military necessity. The incendiary bombs dropped on Hamburg and other German cities and in Korea were surely as barbarous and brutal as the atomic destruction.

The unique menace of the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities was that it opened up the way to develop a new type of warfare of ever greater capacity for human destruction, which seems to have no discernible limitation short of bombs powerful enough to set off a chain reaction adequate to disintegrate our solar and planetary system.

I have not attempted to discuss the numerous military and politico-military matters dealt with in the News and World report interview with Marshall and published on Nov. 2 for they are more remote from my knowledge and abilities. To conclude briefly, it would be my opinion that General Marshall was a military genius in the field of logistics, that he laboured hard, valiantly and successfully to produce Allied military victory, that, politically, he was an amateur who bungled badly in relation to Russia and China, and thus helped to lose the peace, and that ethically he comes out with a rather worse record than any other American leader in the Second World War with the exception of President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins, with whom he was so closely and intimately associated during the course of the war.

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By Sybil Morrison THE REAL ASSET

Far from desiring war, we do not even want to have the means of waging war. They are dreadful weapons (nuclear) for those who would like to unleash a war. Consequently they are an asset in the struggle for peace.—Mr. Khrushchev, Soviet Prime Minister, Nov. 17, 1959.

IT is now two weeks since Mr. Khrushchev announced that he had visited a Russian factory where 250 rockets with hydrogen warhead were manufactured in a year, and stated categorically: "If we were attacked we could wipe off the face of the earth all our political enemies," and it was only two months before that when he had made his "scrap the lot" speech at the United Nations Assembly.

This policy of building up great armaments and then by threatening to use them indicate that they are in fact an asset for peace has been employed for many years by all the military powers. It is by no means peculiar to the Soviet Union to argue that military strength is a means towards peace.

"Peace through strength" was the slogan of the Western Powers until the Geneva Summit meeting, when recognition of the stalemate was forced upon all parties. It had been clear to all who gave it any consideration (and they of course were a very small minority) that a policy of keeping peace through one side being stronger than the other must inevitably lead to a race for the prize of the greatest strength.

There is, therefore, nothing at all new in the assertion that monstrous powers for mass destruction are an asset for peace: it is by no means Mr. Khrushchev alone who holds this view; in fact, if he learned it from anyone at all he learned it from the leaders of the Western world, who have been shouting it for all to hear ever since the end of the second world war.

Nevertheless, there appears to be some slight difference in the present situation if only because Mr. Khrushchev from his position of strength, unlike other leaders when in that position, has stated without equivocation that he is willing to totally disarm the Soviet Union if other nations will follow suit. It may be that he does not genuinely expect anyone to do so, and it is very natural to doubt protestations that he does not even want the means to wage a war, when they are uttered in the same breath as terrifying threats about wiping all "potential enemies off the face of the earth."

"Potential enemies" is another name for ordinary human beings, and "wiping them off the face of the earth" means unleashing a nuclear war in which ordinary human beings are to be killed and blasted, blinded and burned, and the earth itself is to be rendered sterile and dead.

To suggest that there is anything that could possibly be called "an asset for peace" in asserting this monstrous possibility is so vast a contradiction in terms that it destroys itself even in the moment of its utterance.

In fact, in spite of his proposals for total disarmament, Mr. Khrushchev seems to be justifying the retention of nuclear weapons on the grounds that they are an asset for peace, rather than advocating their abolition. This untenable position is one which the Western Powers also struggle to maintain, though it merely reveals the bankruptcy of their statesmanship.

Nevertheless, there is one main difference, and that is that Mr. Khrushchev has made a positive and concrete plan for total disarmament by all nations. This is the first time in history that such a revolutionary suggestion has been so specifically stated, for Litvinoff's proposal at the League of Nations' Disarmament Conference in 1928 was not specific but purely rhetorical, and it was not taken seriously.

To take Mr. Khrushchev's proposals seriously and examine them might, however, be a step towards easing international tension; to set the example and create trust by unilateral action would, without question, be a true asset in the struggle for peace. Let Britain show the way; this is the slogan, and this is the hour.

ON THE FRONTIER

A personal column by the Rev. TOM WARDLE, Minister of Kendal Unitarian Church.

ALL this rather intense public post-mortem by the losing parties in the General Election calls to mind a saying by that remarkable French Catholic-turned-sceptic, Ernst Renan, some 70 or so years ago: "How long can the generations live on the scent of an empty perfume bottle?" Renan was asking how long the ethical attitudes of Christianity would be able to survive its collapse as a metaphysical system.

The defeated parties bewail the demise of political idealism and display a pained outrage at the discovery that most people have no wider concerns than those of their own family. Yet political ideals do not emerge out of thin air; they rest back on religious conviction or they do not rest at all.

Christianity may have suffered a body blow, or rather a severe purge. It can come to life again with a lot of the nonsense which brought it into disrepute sloughed off. Moral security will be possible once more. Young thinkers might turn their attention to this.

POPULATIONS can play funny tricks, according to Prof. Peter Medawar, who is currently giving the year's Reith Lectures on the BBC. Fears about over-population might be discounted by events, he claims.

On the other hand people interested in this problem might remember the paper read by Dr. L. Harrison Matthews, director of the London Zoological Association, to the British Association this year. He argued that population expansion among animals often leads to a state of *psychological* over-population, even where there is enough food for all.

A strange phenomenon follows—a population "crash"—with the animals dying off in large numbers due to a disturbance of glandular function.

Dr. Matthews thought that human populations might face such a crash either from the stress syndrome, or nuclear war, unless we took it upon ourselves deliberately to limit our numbers.

THE quarterly journal of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, "Christus Victor," is a source of important theological thinking on Christian ethics. This year there has been a discussion in its pages of Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms of Church and State. It was initiated by Bishop Anders Nygren, an eminent Lutheran authority, of Sweden. He was replied to by Canon Raven and Dr. Albert Belden, amongst others.

The issue raised was a knotty one. Can the principle of Christian love be made operative in the whole of society, or does it apply only to the Church? Luther believed that men and women were such that they needed discipline and punishment, to maintain order in

the world. This they got through the State. They also needed love. This they got through the Church.

Other theologians, like the Bishop's answers, believe that society itself can also be brought under the sway of love. Behind all the disputes between what William James called the "tender-minded" and the "tough-minded" there lies an unconscious inclination to one or other of these historic positions. The truth, most probably, lies somewhere in between.

Lutherans, incidentally, have always been rather militaristic. One of their founding fathers in America was a general in Washington's army. Because of their regard for justice they have always deferred to the State power. As Bishop Nygren put it, the ruler serves love when he "must administer law and justice, defend the country from invaders and punish offenders."

It can be said against this that the conduct of war is no part of the ruler's stewardship since war is necessarily unjust and arbitrary. There is today a Lutheran pacifist society in the US. Perhaps they have come to the same conclusion.

THIS is the second year of a campaign undertaken by UNESCO (to cover ten years in all) for the promotion of better understanding between the West and Asia. I attended a conference in Oxford recently where this project was discussed by school teachers, ministers, university people and UNESCO staff. A good deal is being done, though mostly at senior levels, for the furtherance of the plan.

More people need to be brought in from junior schools, factories and housing estates. Exchange of materials and visits between small children, workers and housewives is important. I was able to mention Servas, the work-study-travel system, as a means of promoting personal contacts and several people offered their names as hosts.

By
TOM
WARDLE



PEACE NEWS, December 4, 1959—3

OUR 1960 DRIVE

NEVER in my life before had I been handed a cheque for £500. This was the gift Vera Brittain gave to our paper at the opening of our new premises. It is to be used to launch a sales drive for the paper in 1960.



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THE EDITOR.

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Suez: Youth hostel to be rebuilt

AMONG the buildings that were destroyed at Port Said when Britain and France attacked Egypt in 1956 was the attractive Youth Hostel.

In the months that have passed the Egyptian Government has provided £12,000 for a new and better building, and work on it has now reached completion.

An attempt is being made to raise £1,000 in Britain to re-equip the new building and provide a beach house for Youth Hostellers from many lands who will stay there in the future.

The Friends Peace Committee (Quakers) have issued an appeal for the £1,000 above the signatures of Boyd Orr, Philip Toynbee, Kathleen Lonsdale, Robert Davis and E. St. J. Catchpool, formerly President of the International Youth Hostel Federation.

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Sahara protest

THE demonstration now being organised in West Africa against the French atomic tests in the Sahara bids fair to become as historic as Gandhi's salt march. Whether or not the demonstrators achieve their immediate objective of preventing the tests, their self-sacrifice will not have been in vain. If they do, a major point will have been scored for humanity, indeed, and the prestige of non-violence enhanced. But even if they do not, they will have gone far towards unifying African sentiment throughout the continent on an issue of universal concern—and this, as Michael Randle says, "may in the long run prove even more important."

One hesitates to speak of "the long run" nowadays: mankind may not have a very long run. It is just this that makes the issue more urgent than any salt tax, or even colonialism itself. Recent voting in the UN General Assembly showed how widespread was the aversion to any resumption of nuclear testing. Nevertheless, it is only when a class or a people, fired by the idealism of the few, becomes the spokesman of humanity at large, that history is made.

India v. China

LET nobody cite the long and heroic campaign for Indian Independence as a discouraging precedent. Disappointing Independent India may well have been to those who anticipated a nation of Gandhis, ready to rely on non-violence for its defence as well as its liberation. But a revolution is not a failure just because it fails to realise the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Though its leaders' ideals are always diluted and degraded by the struggle, the struggle is intensified and exalted. Nehru is certainly not Gandhi, but only in Gandhi's country could Nehru have retained his leadership—and to wish that away would be to make the best the enemy of the good with a vengeance.

The policies of China and India over the last few months underline the immeasurable contrast between countries united and freed from foreign domination by violent and by non-violent means. Whilst the Peking Government seems bent on repeating all the worst excesses of the Stalin regime—the precipitately enforced collectivisation, the purges, the ruthless expansionism—the Delhi Government has shown a restraint unprecedented in a Great Power. However much we may regret that it should be taking Chinese encroachment to compose the feud between India and Pakistan, no one can regret the combination of firmness and reasonableness with which Nehru has responded to provocations such as, anywhere



else, would have evoked the wildest Churchillian bluster and sabre-rattling.

Which reminds me—wasn't Nehru one of those "men of straw" who, Churchill predicted in 1947, would be swept away within a matter of months if the British withdrew?

Monckton Commission

IT seems a very long time now since Britain, by withdrawing from India, Burma and Ceylon, and helping to stop the Dutch war on Indonesia, commanded the respect and kindled the hopes of colonial peoples everywhere. To think that within a decade we should have sunk to the level represented by the present Government's appeasement of De Gaulle and Welensky! It will take more than the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Ghana (welcome as that is) to make up for last month's vote in the UN Political Committee in favour of the French tests; much more than Macmillan's African tour—culminating in hearty handshakes with Verwoerd—to make up for the Monckton Commission.

The Opposition's hesitation to participate in this Commission is fully justified. The Devlin Report censured, with a fine impartiality, both the African and European leaders of Nyasaland: the Africans (as every Daily Telegraph reader knows) for an agitation that left the Governor with no option but to proclaim a State of Emergency, the Europeans (as every Daily Herald reader knows) for justifying the Emergency Regulations with a lie that ensured their being enforced with the maximum brutality. The Report left no doubt that last summer's disorders were merely symptoms: their cause was the enforced Federation.

The new Commission, debarred alike by its personnel and its terms of reference from paying any heed to this diagnosis, is hardly better than a farce. By supporting it, the Opposition can only compromise itself in African eyes to no foreseeable advantage.

Labour would be better advised, as Fenner Brockway has suggested, to appoint a panel of experts of its own, to prepare a remedy for the disease itself against the time when the quacks have finished examining the symptoms. Of course it may be too late by then—but you never

know. Macmillan being Macmillan, Nyasaland is liable to be with us at least as long as Cyprus.

Blackpool reappraisal

IT is within the whole context of foreign and colonial affairs that the Labour Party should be taking stock of its position. So far as Britain is concerned, it has shot its bolt—or, if you prefer, discharged its "historical mission." The last three Elections, in fact, constitute a magnificent testimonial to its achievement. Only a Party which, in its brief term of office after the last war, had abolished large-scale unemployment and poverty, could have ensured so steady a majority for the Party of Wealth. It is time that it shed its modesty, acknowledged its triumph—and made its bow.

It is time, at any rate, that it reconstituted itself as a Commonwealth Party, in fact if not in name. At present we have a Party without a cause, and a cause without a Party: the moral is obvious enough. If, instead of scraping the barrel for the last remnants of under-privilege at home—old-age pensioners, local unemployed, etc.—Labour identified itself first and foremost with the vast mass of the under-privileged abroad, it might indeed become "an expression of what was once called a 'bold, human movement on behalf of the bottom dog.'" It might yet perform the same rôle for the Commonwealth as it once performed for Britain.

And who knows whether that might not even be sound electoral strategy? The British may not really be quite so smug and self-centred as their canvassers commonly presume. The younger generation, anyway, is not. Never before has youth been so internationally minded. Wedgwood Benn did not err when he defined its concerns as "the need for total disarmament; Africa; and domestic affairs"—in that order.

Gaitskill's summary of the Party's aims was admirable; so was his insistence that public ownership is merely a means—one means among others—for attaining them. But it is in the colonial field that these ends cry aloud for realisation, and it is for their realisation there that public ownership may prove indispensable.

Aliens and visas

IN his Commentary last week, Bjoern Hallstrom drew attention to the offensive inquisition to which overseas visitors are subjected on their arrival in Britain. As a teacher of foreign students, I used to hear a lot about this. The clear presumption, they used to say, was that any woman under 40 could have only one reason for entering England—namely, to do the native prostitutes out of a job—and that she was guilty until proved innocent. Perhaps it is not quite as bad as that: but surely no system could be more effective in prejudicing foreigners against us. Visas, with all their idiocies, might be preferable, after all.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Death Cell—Decade II

A BRIEF was filed with the US Supreme Court on Monday urging a new trial for Caryl Chessman, the "death row author" who has spent 11 years in San Quentin prison under sentence of death.

The brief, which was signed by Aldous Huxley, Dr. Karl Menninger, the psychiatrist, and 21 others, said Chessman's conviction was "not the product of a fair trial before a fair tribunal."

A Reuter report from Washington said that the Supreme Court had previously received an appeal from Chessman for a

new trial, and might disclose in December whether it would grant him a hearing.

Rubbish—for 'Natives'

A FIRM of importers, Denny and Co. of Bristol, have sent a man from England to South Africa to discover why part of a consignment of "stewed steak"—described at a Bristol health committee meeting as "horrible trash and rubbish"—was shipped to Bristol.

The Daily Mirror quoted a member of the firm on November 21 as saying that "the tins were wrongly labelled and were destined for the native market."

Defending the free world

SENATOR DOUGLAS revealed in the United States on March 26 this year a Pentagon programme to influence the "power élite" in the country by flying influential citizens to various military demonstrations.

He estimated the cost to the US Air Force of flying people to these "joint civilian orientation conferences" is "at least \$1,000,000 a year."

This is reported in the November issue of the Washington Newsletter, monthly of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. In addition, says the Quakers' Newsletter, the Pentagon will receive \$2,650,000 for legislative liaison with Congress next year, "and other millions for 'public relations.'"

Dictatorship in Portugal

GENERAL DELGADO, exiled leader of the Opposition in Portugal, said in London on November 26 that he thought that countries like Britain and the United States could do more to help his country free itself from slavery.

He thought that a committee to collect funds to relieve the misery of the officers in prison and their families "would be a very interesting gesture."

The Times reported his view of the regime of Dr. Salazar: "We have no other way of destroying this dictatorship except by Army revolt."

Nyasaland Africans now held in detention without trial in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia number 381 and 86 respectively, Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod stated in the House of Commons on November 17.

Indonesia is seeking ways and means of organising a second Afro-Asian conference, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, was quoted as saying by the Antara news agency on November 26.

In Northern Rhodesia the Legislative Council agreed without opposition on November 26 to appoint a select committee to investigate racial discrimination in restaurants and places of entertainment.

The Royal Australian Air Force is to be equipped with British Bloodhound guided missiles under a new arms policy announced on November 26 by the Australian Minister for Defence, Mr. A. Townley.

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NEW STRATEGY TO SAVE S.W. AFRICA

Indicted South Africa for trial?

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA has been on the agenda of the United Nations—and on the conscience of the world—for the past 14 years. Michael Scott, by his sheer persistence, helped snatch this erstwhile German colony from being completely caught in the apartheid embrace of South Africa shortly after World War II. He has been representing the Herero people of South West Africa at the UN ever since.

While the UN has been seized with "the South-West Africa question" through the Fourth Committee, the Good Offices Committee, and other machinery, the Union of South Africa has continued to absorb South-West Africa into her political fabric.

For a number of years Michael Scott and Mburumba Kerina (the first South-West African to appear at the UN) gave annual reports as petitioners. This team was suddenly augmented in this current UN session by two more South-West Africans—and three petitioners from America!

Last spring Jariretundu Kozonguizi, a South-West African student at Fort Hare College, made his way out of the Union of South Africa with nothing but his pass-book. In Leopoldville, he obtained an American visa to testify at the UN. Last summer, Hans Beukes, a South-West African student attending the University of Cape Town, had his passport withdrawn by the South African Government as he was about to board ship for Norway where he had a scholarship. In Cape Town, Beukes met three young Americans who had just returned from South-West Africa where they spent several weeks talking with African leaders and obtaining tape recordings of their pleas to the UN.

Eric Louw fails

The three Americans—Al Lowenstein, Emory Bundy and Sherman Bull—spirited Beukes out of South Africa to Bechuanaland. He remained there with Seretse Khama while the Americans returned to the United States and told the story of Hans Beukes to the annual congress of the National Student Association. Funds were immediately raised by the students and cabled to Beukes so he could come to New York where he could also testify at the UN.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, addressed the Fourth Committee of the UN for 50 minutes in an effort to prevent any petitioners speaking on South-West Africa, including Michael Scott ("the hardy annual" as Louw called him) and the three Americans. He suggested that these petitioners were part of an international conspiracy against South Africa. The Fourth Committee, however, overwhelmingly voted to hear all petitioners, setting a precedent

in the case of the three Americans. The European colonial powers, including France, Portugal and the United Kingdom, voted with South Africa against hearing the petitioners.

Recordings from the bush

The testimony this year was especially impressive, aided in the case of the three Americans with tape recordings made deep in the bush of the pleas of the South-West African chiefs who have never been permitted by South Africa to leave South-West Africa to appear at the UN. What they and other petitioners said was well known to the UN. South Africa is quietly and methodically annexing South-West Africa. Its oppression, apartheid, and feudalism are worse, if anything, than in South Africa itself.

This year the indictment of South Africa was so devastating, including the annual report of the UN's own Committee on South-West Africa, that South Africa felt compelled—as she has not for some years—to participate in the debate. Her spokesman tried to answer some of the petitioners and, at the end of the debate, agreed to make information on South-West Africa available to the UN and continue discussions with the UN on South-West Africa.

The first resolution resulting from the UN debate was not unlike previous decisions of the UN. It invited South Africa once again to negotiate with the UN to place South-West Africa under the UN Trusteeship system and thus be administered according to the terms and intent of the UN Charter. This resolution, submitted by 23 nations, was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 56 to 5 with 12 abstentions. The US and the USSR both voted with the majority. Those voting against the resolution included Belgium, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom and South Africa. Those abstaining included such Commonwealth countries as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, four Scandinavian countries (whose previous softening amendment to the resolution had been defeated), and such other European nations as Netherlands, Italy and Spain.

The second resolution injected a new strategy into action to save South-West Africa. Thirteen Asian-African nations and

Haiti submitted a resolution calling attention to the possibility of legal action against South Africa through the International Court of Justice. In 1950 the International Court ruled in an advisory opinion that while South Africa was not compelled to place South-West Africa under the UN trusteeship system, it was required to abide by the provisions of the League of Nations mandate system and thus could not change the status of the territory unilaterally.

The new 14-power resolution drew "the attention" of UN members to the possibility of further asking the International Court in a compulsory opinion to decide whether South Africa in administering South-West Africa (through apartheid and oppression) had in fact violated its obligations under the mandate agreement. Surprisingly, this resolution was approved in the Fourth Committee by a vote of 54 to 4, with 7 abstentions. Again, both the US and the USSR voted in favour of this resolution, while Australia, Portugal, and the United Kingdom joined South Africa in opposition.

International Court

The passage of this second resolution does not automatically mean that so-called contentious proceedings will be taken against South Africa in the International Court. Some one nation—not the UN—must initiate action and it is thought that this must be a former member of the League of Nations. Liberia is the nation most frequently mentioned as bringing proceedings. Legal studies will begin while a final attempt at negotiations with South Africa is made by the UN.

If the issue is then brought to the Court, South Africa must accept the Court's jurisdiction in this matter since, in accepting the mandate many years ago, she agreed to

Dr Homer Jack reports from U.N.



accept the opinion of the World Court (now succeeded by the International Court) on any question including the interpretation of the mandate agreement.

Michael Scott who, with increasing help has determined strategy to rescue South-West Africa, left New York on the very eve of the General Assembly debate on the issue in order to fly to Ghana to become a member of the valiant band marching into the Sahara to oppose French nuclear tests. The General Assembly on November 17 easily endorsed the decisions of its Fourth Committee. The vote on the legal resolution was 55 to 4, with 16 abstentions.

In commenting on the UN action, Michael Scott asserted that "a point has been reached at which concurrence in South Africa's defiance of the UN is equivalent to complicity in its injustice." Scott felt that the defiance of world-wide public opinion by South Africa regarding apartheid in South-West Africa (and within her borders) is bringing increased embarrassment to South Africa as well as the real threat of an economic boycott of her exports. Indeed, in the same session during which the General Assembly acted against South Africa on South-West Africa, by even a greater majority—66 to 3—it voted to condemn South Africa for her continued apartheid and for her refusal to respond to the repeated appeals of the UN.

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HUNGARIAN EXECUTIONS

To the Editor

IN the paragraph headed "Hungarian executions" on page 4 of your issue of November 13 you state that fifteen Hungarian teenagers were executed in Hungary and that 150 others will be as they reach the age of 18. May I draw your attention to the fact that the Hungarian Government spokesman, Mr. Laszlo Gyáros, told Reuter on October 17 last (regarding the report):

Christmas holidays

THE issue of Peace News dated December 25 will be on sale on December 24.

The Peace News offices and Housmans Bookshop will close on Thursday night, December 24, and re-open on Tuesday morning, December 29.

Classified advertisements and items for the Peace News Diary for the December 25 issue should arrive by first post Friday, December 18, and for the issue of January 1 by Thursday morning, December 24.

Latest times for displayed advertisements are Monday, December 21, and Tuesday, December 29, respectively.

"Neither in the period indicated by the article, nor for that matter in the last three years, has a single person in the list come before the courts in Hungary, either for political or other crimes, nor have they been sentenced. The whole list is a fabrication."

Also on October 31 in Budapest Mr. Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, said: "... they published in the Western press a list of 31 names and said these had recently been executed in Hungary. All those names were invented

... then recently they invented the story that a whole series of young men are in prison in Hungary and that they will be hanged when they reach the age of 18. In Hungary everybody knows that that is untrue, a vile and base provocation such spreaders of false news think, in the Goebbels pattern, that if people believe one per cent of their lies it is still a clear profit to themselves. ..."

In the interest of truth, peace and international goodwill, I trust you will allow your readers to know this.—**CHARLES RINGROSE**, Secretary, British Hungarian Friendship Society, 134a/136a Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2.

WAR IN THE CINEMA

Wanted: A new 'All Quiet'

By Rod Prince

"'Paths of Glory,' by showing the gulf between leaders and led fatally widened by the fact of war, shows war itself as an extended struggle for power, internal and external. It is the practical as opposed to the sentimental argument, and seems easily the more persuasive today, when one can't avoid feeling that if another war breaks out it will be for reasons completely remote from the lives of most people; another extension of the policies of peace, in fact, which when we read about them in the newspapers seem remote enough already. The visual contrast of, say, a 'Summit' conference and a hydrogen bomb exploding on a city, is only taking 'Paths of Glory's' contrast of the chateau and the trenches a stage further."—Gavin Lambert, Sight & Sound, Winter 1957-8.

THE war film seems at last to have gone out of fashion. Those easy justifications of war, "Bridge on the River Kwai" and "Yesterday's Enemy," appear as the dying gasps of an old English tradition.

It is hard to remember Captain Hawkins and Squadron-Leader More in the old confident days when war was war and everyone knew his place. An unpleasant business sometimes, but with straight-backed officers and loyal cheerful ORs, we'd win through. Even in America, the tough top sergeant and the neurotic lieutenant have faded away.

This is something to be thankful for. But war is too central to our present situation to be quietly forgotten—whether in favour of comedies, horrors from outer space, or biblical epics. We are still waiting for the "All Quiet" of the post-1945 era. We want a definitive statement—but more than that, we want a film which will

plexity. The soldiers become very real people on the screen: military life is realised here with unusual accuracy. This is an interesting point of comparison with "All Quiet," whose army is very much a stage army.

The issue of cowardice is raised, and the issue of authority: after the Finnish entry into Russia, the soldiers are quartered in a border town. When the order comes to move back to the front the soldiers refuse to go, and two men are shot for mutiny. This sequence makes it quite clear that war is total; once you are involved, you are involved entirely. The successful conduct of war requires complete obedience in all major matters.



From "Paths of Glory."—United Artists.

seriously examine the sources of war as well as showing us the results. In short, an intelligent pacifist film. "All Quiet on the Western Front" was a passionate denunciation of the bestiality of war, which spoke from the stomach. After the First World War, this was invaluable; but we are now so far from the second and so near the third that we need more than sheer denunciation. The responsibilities have to be pinned down.

Two films which come some way towards my ideal of the intelligent pacifist film are "Paths of Glory" and "The Unknown Soldier." The former is concerned with the war in France in 1916; the latter with the Russo-Finnish war in 1941-2. However, "The Unknown Soldier" is certainly the nearer of the two to "All Quiet" in spirit.

It tells the story of the Finnish advance into Russia, and the subsequent retreat to their starting point in Finland. At the outset of the war, many of the Finnish soldiers are boys; they are sent into battle with the minimum of training, and the film shows this brutal introduction to war without relief. At the end of the campaign nearly all of them have been killed, and the platoon is full of new faces. It is a simple outline; but it is treated with some com-

plexity. The situation here is the deadlock of trench warfare, where every inch of ground gained was measured by the lives lost in hundreds.

A general, anxious for promotion, orders an impossible attack. The barrage is so intense that a third of his own men fail to leave the trenches; the general first orders the artillery commander to fire on them, which the commander refuses to do, and then orders three men to be chosen by lot for court-martial on charges of cowardice. After a farcical trial, in which the defence pleas are swept aside, the men are shot.

Again, the point is made, even more explicitly than in "The Unknown Soldier," that there is no escape: the choice is between German bullets or French ones. Again, there are scenes of death and carnage. But this time, the action is on a different level; it concentrates on the intrigues between the officers, which take place away from the war in an elegant chateau.

We do not get to know the fighting soldiers—the whole piece is intellectually conceived and realised. Only at the end of the film is there a sudden change of mood, when the defending officer, Colonel Dax, witnesses a concert at which the soldiers

are moved to tears by the singing of a German girl.

"Paths of Glory" is not only a devastating indictment of the cruelty of war; it opens up the whole power structure of militarism. It challenges the accepted views of authority and leadership. Nevertheless, there are weaknesses. The basic equivocation is in the character of Dax. As a soldier, he has a patriotic loyalty which commits him to the conduct of the war, and this commitment makes any effective defence of the three men impossible. Without denying the accepted justification of the war, he cannot adequately answer the ruthless military logic of the prosecution. "The only evidence of their bravery would have been their dead bodies."

The burden of the case against the war is laid on the battle sequences and the inhumanity of the staff officers. The film can carry this burden; but at the end you feel that a connection has been missed. Dax's final outburst against the general, as a "blood-thirsty, sadistic old man," misses the mark, because Dax is compromised by his active participation in the war and the chain of command.

The lesson of these films is that any anti-



Comforting a soldier who saw his friend die.—News photo, Korean War.

militarist effort must not be confined to a detestation of war. It must be concerned as well with peace-time politics. In particular, we should campaign against two things: patriotism and anti-democratic structures of power and authority. This is the most important point: that if war is an extension of the policies of peace, we must work in peacetime against the tendency for power—in particular, the power over life and death—to be concentrated in a tight oligarchic group. Now that such groups control the absolute power of the H-bomb, this work is more important than ever. If only we had that intelligent pacifist film.

ANSWERING BACK

By Alan Lovell

TO fight the mass media sometimes seems an impossible task. How can one oppose the values that are purveyed throughout the country every minute of the day by the press, radio, and television, using the latest technical resources, and backed by large sums of capital?

We are nowhere near to an answer of the problem. There are, however, indications of ways it might be tackled, and I want to mention in this note just one way.

One of the features of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has been the realisation of the power of the film both to convey information and to challenge people's imagination. Two organisations are now

working to make people aware of relevant films and to make sure that the films are available to peace groups.

The first organisation is the Friends Peace Committee which has in the last year organised two film viewing sessions and published a booklet "Educating for Peace" which lists nearly all the films which deal with war and peace, world poverty and related subjects. The booklet is available from the Friends Peace Committee (Euston Rd., London, N.W.1) and costs 1s.

The second organisation is the Nuclear Disarmament Newsreel Committee which acts as a kind of distributing agency. Eric Walker, the secretary, has collected together a number of very worthwhile films. Two films that he has recently acquired indicate the value of the service that the Committee provides.



A scene from "Kanal," Andrzej Wajda's film about the Polish resistors who were trapped in the Warsaw sewers after the Warsaw rising of 1944. The film is available from Contemporary Films (Soho Square, London, W.1).

"Neighbours" is a film by Norman McClaren, famous for his experiments with the animated film. Using characteristic McClaren techniques, the film is a horrifying parable about war. Two men sit happily in their deck chairs. Suddenly they notice that a flower has grown between them and they both immediately lay claim to the flower. They build fences which put the flower just inside their territory.

Neither will yield his claim so they attack each other. The film ends with both of them dead, battered to death by each other. (In the original version they also killed a woman and child, but this sequence was removed by the National Film Board of Canada because of the number of protests it received.) McClaren's film is a powerful attack on war just because of the simplicity of the way it is told.

Polish film makers have been obsessed with war and its effects, and the ten-minute documentary "It's a grand life" shares this obsession. Against shots of the H-bomb exploding, victims of the concentration camps, refugees, and all the other sufferers of modern war, the sound track plays well known "pop" songs. In the last sequence of the film a monkey comes and puts a wreath on the grave of *homo sapiens*.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.), 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open Air Forum; PPU. LONDON: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, W.1. Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Labour must plan 'fair shares in the world'

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



LAST week-end the Labour Party in national assembly at Blackpool re-stated its policy in the light of its General Election defeat. Because I am leaving England for a Colonial Freedom Conference embracing the Mediterranean and Middle East, at Belgrade,

I am compelled to write before Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan made their speeches, but I have been present at the discussions of the Parliamentary Party and I think the line is clear. Much of Labour's future intentions go beyond the sphere of colonial freedom. There are Liberals opposed to the socialisation of industry who are passionately sincere in their desire for the liberation of peoples and for racial equality. But colonial policy cannot be treated in a vacuum. Economic policies and policies related to peace must profoundly affect the liberties and the democratic rights of the peoples of the new emerging nations throughout the world. Consider the effect of the economic changes which are now taking place in Britain and the industrialised countries.

We are at the beginning of a second industrial revolution which will increase the gulf between the developed and underdeveloped territories of the earth. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has just said in London that Britain is well on the way to doubling its standard of life in 25 years. This possibility arises not so much from governmental policy as from the mounting speed of wealth production. Automation, atomic power and new materials are making the manufacture of every kind of article immeasurably easier.

Within a few years Britain and other industrial countries will be in danger of reaching saturation point, unless there is a planned redistribution of wealth both among their own peoples and the peoples of the world. Without that there will be the prospect of unemployment because more goods have been produced than can be sold. The prospect of unemployment will be increased if the Summit Talks lead to drastic disarmament. The welfare of the people of Britain and in the industrialised countries will require that new areas for the disposal of their surplus goods be found.

Meanwhile, unless a new economic pattern for the world is adopted, millions of people in Asia, Africa and distant places will remain in poverty, despite the ease of wealth production. In fact, the present prosperity of Britain has partly been achieved

at the expense of the Asian and African peoples. Our Prime Minister has acknowledged that we have had the good luck of cheaper prices of foodstuffs and raw materials imported from abroad. But this has meant that millions of people in the continents producing our food and raw materials have received less and have been thrust into deeper want.

One per cent not enough

It is good that the Labour Party, and indeed, the leaders of all parties here, as well as the spokesmen of America and Russia, now emphasise the needs of the underdeveloped territories of the earth; but the scale and character of a plan to meet both the effects of the industrial revolution at home and the human urgency overseas is not yet realised. We must break entirely from the system of grants in aid which now satisfy the consciences of benevolent governments. The Labour Party's proposal to devote one per cent of Britain's national income is quite inadequate.

There must be no patronage or paternalism in the plan. The industrialised countries need it as much as the underdeveloped countries. There must be no economic imperialism or capitalist exploitation or partisan political motives in the plan. It should be under United Nations auspices, free from profit-making and cold war rivalries. The plan must not be an imposition. It must be worked out co-operatively by all the nations concerned.

For the sake of all peoples, both at home and overseas, the Labour Party must implement its declared aim of "Fair Shares in the World" by working out a bold, all-embracing and imaginative plan on these lines and challenge Britain to initiate it and the world to adopt it.

On the relationship of the Labour Party's peace policy to colonial freedom I have space only to say this: Whilst Labour

remains committed to a defence programme linked with the Western Alliance in the Cold War, the Party will find difficulty in dissociating itself from the maintenance of military bases in colonial territories, from military alliances to which colonial peoples and newly independent countries are opposed, and from requiring colonial territories to become committed to policies with which their peoples have no sympathy.

Nearly all colonial peoples stand for neutrality in the Cold War: yet Britain demands military bases on Cyprus, Aden and Singapore, participates in the SEATO pact in Asia, and commits colonial Governments to its foreign and defence policies.

Labour should say openly that a British Government has no right to impose on any people any military obligations without their free consent.

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Alan Lovell ● FROM PAGE SIX

It is almost impossible to describe the effect of this film. Cut in with the shots of war victims are shots of familiar contemporary scenes, people dancing, people on beaches, etc. The whole film creates the impression of a very fragile civilisation which is in the grip of a death wish. The "pop" tunes heighten this effect by suggesting the sickly escapism of much of our life. But this is not a film to use words about. It is a film to see and ponder on.

Eric Walker (154, Corbyn St., London, N.4) will supply any group interested with details of these and other films. The work that both he and the Friends Peace Committee are doing is invaluable. I hope everybody will make use of it.

Quote

"The war was fought with great incompetence by either side. For a number of reasons unconnected with nationality this is inevitable in every war."—Rayne Kruger, "Good-bye Dolly Gray: The Story of the Boer War." (Cassell, 30s.)

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, December 4

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. 8 Dale Rd. Rev. W. R. Cummings. FoR.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. The Guildhall. Debate on Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament intro. by James Cameron. Parliamentary Debating Soc. Non-membs. welcome.

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Peace Forum. Eileen Fletcher, Stuart Morris, Rev. Stacey, Leslie Smith. Chair: Sybil Morrison. All welcome. SJPC.

ST. LEONARDS: 7.30 p.m. The Briars, 2 Combermere Rd. First mtg. of new CND Group.

Saturday, December 5

ALTON: 3 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, Southern Area Ctee. Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, N.6: 3 p.m. "Syskon" College, Millfield Ln., Highgate West Hill. Fred & Betty Dallas sing folk songs and ballads. Collection for La Marsa Fund. Refreshments. IVS.

LONDON, S.E.21: 2.30-9.30 p.m. Kingswood Ho., Kingswood Estate. "Day School": analysis/discussion on propagation of ND in the community. Mervyn Jones, Dr. Lowy. Adm. 2s. Youth 1s. 42 Tyrrell Rd., S.E.22. Dulwich CND.

Sunday, December 6

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd. (nr. Stn.). "Nuclear Disarmament & Pacifism": Michael Lines. PPU.

Monday, December 7

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. "The Cross and the Bomb?" Canon Collins, Rev. Hickman Johnson. Chair: H. G. Wood. FoR.

BIRMINGHAM, 2: 10.30 a.m. & 1.30 p.m. Room 3, Chamber of Commerce, 95 New St. COs Tribunal.

Tuesday, December 8

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. 4 Kings Pk. Rd. "International Youth Work": Cldr. Reg. Burns. PPU.

WORTHING: 7.30 p.m. 34 Mill Rd. "Direct Action Against Nuclear War": Will Warren. CND.

Wednesday, December 9

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Film show. "March to Aldermaston", "Rocket Base Story". CND.

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 4 Harrington Rd. "Direct Action": Will Warren. CND.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Donald Drive. "Pacifist Participation in Politics": Wallace Hancock. FoR. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.11: 7.45 p.m. 23 Russell Gdns. "Non-violence": Hilda von Klenze. PPU.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Rd. "Peace News faces the future": Hugh Brock. PPU.

Thursday, December 10

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Public Debate on Direct Action Methods: Dr. Alex Comfort, April Carter, Dr. David Pitt, John Rankin, M.P. Adm. 2s. 6d. PN. DAC. LPE.

WATFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Nuclear Disarmament: Donald Soper, Prof. Bernal, Stuart Morris, Diana Collins, Stephen Swingle. CND.

Friday, December 11

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. Local Tribunal for COs. Public Adm.

Saturday, December 12

BIRMINGHAM: 4 p.m. Oddfellows Hall, Uptas Ho., Livery St. Annual Christmas Party. Bring & Buy Stall. Endsleigh Cards on sale. Adults 2s., children free. West Midlands Area PPU.

Sunday, December 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. "A New Progressive Party?": Antony Bates. PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, December 14

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public Adm.

Wednesday, December 16

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Fore St. "A New Generation in the Peace Movement": Christopher Farley. PPU.

Thursday, December 17

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. "Good Food": Phoebe Berrow. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., nr. Green Man. Christmas Social. FoR. PPU.

Wednesday, December 23—December 30
NORTH GERMANY: International Christmas Peace Party at Friendship House, Bückeburg. Enquiries: Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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ALL SET FOR 550-MILE DESERT TREK

FINAL PREPARATIONS WERE BEING MADE IN ACCRA THIS WEEK FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PROTESTS TEAM'S START TO-MORROW MORNING ON THE 2,000 MILE JOURNEY TO THE FRENCH ATOM BOMB TESTING GROUND IN THE SAHARA DESERT.



Dora Dawtry, bookshop manager, turns the key at the opening of Housemans Bookshop, which forms part of the new Peace News premises at King's Cross, London. With her left to right are:

Arthur Goss, the Rev. Tom Willis (whose gift of £5,700 made the purchase of the building possible), Frank Dawtry, Harry Mister, Vera Brittain, Hugh Brock, Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris.

Twelve months' sentence halved

From a Correspondent

AT the Bedfordshire Quarter Sessions on November 23 a twelve months sentence imposed by Luton (Beds) Magistrates on Rex Dunham on October 21 was reduced to six months.

Rex Dunham had been registered as a CO on May 4 on condition that he undertook specified civil work for a period of two years and sixty days. So strongly did he object to anything to do with military service, explained his counsel, Mr. J. Anthony Ellison, that he was not prepared to comply with this condition.

The twelve months' sentence had been imposed because of his refusal to obey a direction to work as a porter in a hospital. So deeply did Rex Dunham feel on this subject that he had told Luton magistrates that if they fined him he would not pay the fine, for this would be tacitly admitting "guilt" and voluntarily compromising his position.

This, claimed Mr. Ellison, was another indication of his conscientiousness for, as a planning engineer, he could easily have met any fine imposed, and in any case three months' imprisonment was the maximum that could have been imposed had he delayed revealing his unwillingness to pay the fine until after the magistrates had made that their sentence.

'APPROPRIATE'

In a long judgment, Mr. Cyril P. Harvey, QC, said that they had agreed that no sentence other than a fine or imprisonment was appropriate in these cases; in this case as he was not prepared to pay a fine the question was how long should that imprisonment be. The normal criteria of right and wrong do not apply to these cases nor assessment as to the severity of his "crime," though this was certainly a most obstinate case. Without any reflection on the Luton Magistrates they had concluded that the sentence should be reduced to one of six months to date from conviction.

RELEASE NOTE.—With full remission of sentence for good conduct, this means Rex Dunham is due for release in February, 1960.

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Harrington base: first 60 volunteers

THE first 60 definite volunteers have come forward for the Direct Action Committee's radical protest at Harrington rocket base, Northants, on January 2.

The Committee is conducting an all-out campaign in the next few weeks to get as many people there as possible. Pat Arrow-smith, the Direct Action field organiser, left London last Saturday for over a fortnight for an intensive programme of speaking engagements in the East Midlands and North, starting in Cambridge. Will Warren has similar engagements in the West Midlands and South. The rest of the Committee is speaking to groups in the greater London area nearly every night. Sometimes there are three meetings in one evening. General response from Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups has been most heartening.

A briefing meeting will be held in London for volunteers on December 19 and 20. Meanwhile the Committee is appealing for loans of tents and loud-speaker equipment, though it is possible that these could be held by the police.

Next Thursday, December 10, Direct Action has arranged a debate in London at the Conway Hall at 7.30 p.m. The meeting is advertised on page three of PN this week.

The West-of-England Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War is urging everyone in its area to support the Harrington rocket base protest. The secretary of the Committee is Austin Underwood.

Besides propagandising the protest in the West of England, the committee is arranging for a contingent to take part in it.

A convoy of cars will leave Salisbury at 1.30 p.m. on Friday, Jan. 1, after a meeting in the Guildhall Square. The convoy will stop at Newbury at 2.30 p.m. when another meeting will be held. It will then move off to Oxford, arriving at 3.15 p.m. for a meeting in St. Giles. After the meeting the convoy will leave for Wellingborough via Buckingham and Northampton.

An evening meeting will be held at Wellingborough for those interested in building up the direct action organisation in the West of England.

Anybody who can help in these activities is asked to contact Austin Underwood at 4, Earls Rd., Amesbury, Wilts.

The team of 16 people, headed by the Rev. Michael Scott, is expected to have its first contact with the French authorities at the Upper Volta border early next week.

Other members of the team beside 12 Africans who are still being chosen, are Michael Randle (UK), Bayard Rustin (USA), William Sutherland (Ghana and USA), Esther Peter (France), Francis Hoyland (UK).

Unless last-minute changes are made their route from Accra to Bawku on the

Upper Volta border will be via Kumasi, Atebubu, Tamale and Bolgatana, about 550 miles.

It is being rumoured in Accra that the French are also refusing visas to reporters wishing to follow the team.

Mr. Tom Mboya, the Kenya African leader, has promised strong support for the team and many African organisations are to demonstrate in sympathy to-morrow.

All visas for entering French territory have been refused to the team, the decision being made, according to the Embassy in Accra, by M. Soustelle, Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister's Office.

Standing orders stand?

Peace News Reporter

THE standing orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party were rescinded at a meeting of the Parliamentary Party on Nov. 26. Discipline inside Parliament will now be controlled on the basis of a five-point statement drawn up by Mr. Gaitskill and the "shadow" cabinet.

The five points are:

1. The rescinding of standing orders does not affect the right of the Parliamentary Party to withdraw the whip from any member, nor the right to take any steps calculated to ensure the well-being of the Parliamentary Party.
2. If the party is to be an effective force politically its activities must be co-ordinated and collective decisions taken. Members are expected to observe these decisions.
3. This applies especially in the matter of voting, although the right of individual members to abstain on the grounds of deeply held personal conscientious conviction is recognised.
4. Members are requested before tabling any motion or amendment to consult the party officers so that confusion, misunderstanding and contradiction can be avoided.
5. Membership of the Parliamentary Party is a privilege involving responsibilities and obligations as well as rights and opportunities. The Party will no longer rely on formal standing orders but on a spirit of good friendship, co-operation and comradeship for the acceptance of these responsibilities and obligations.

It is not clear how these principles differ from standing orders. All the essential features of the Labour discipline of the last seven years, such as the refusal of the whip and the right of members only to abstain when they have deep personal convictions, are retained.

The change was made at a very small meeting of the Parliamentary Party by a vote of about three to one. Mr. Gaitskill, the party leader, is reported to have spoken in favour of retaining standing orders.

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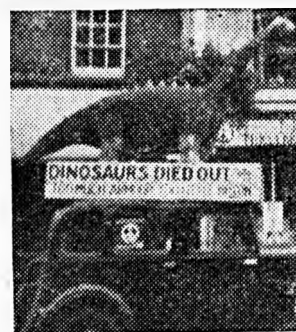
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Inez Randall, 14 Westcote Rd., Reading.